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JPRS 68169

4 November 1976

EAST

EUROPE

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1315



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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 68169	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1315		5. Report Date 4 November 1976		6.
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.		
11. Contract/Grant No.				
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered		
		14.		
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. No. of Pages 47
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN MINISTER IN POLAND--The Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, Janos Nagy, was in Warsaw on 18 and 19 October 1976. He held consultation talks with the Polish Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jozef Czyrek. J. Nagy also met with the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eugeniusz Kulaga, and the Secretary General of the "Polonia" Society, Wieslaw Adamski. Vice Minister J. Nagy was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski. The Hungarian Ambassador to Poland, Jozsef Nemeti, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Oct 76 p 2]

CSO: 2600

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVEL REFUSED VISA TO TRAVEL TO VIENNA

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Oct 76 pp 169, 172

[Text] "To travel," said Vaclav Havel, the Czechoslovak playwright, in conversation with other writers in 1968, "is to seek a new identity as far as a writer is concerned. Foreign scenery is new set pieces for beginning life from scratch." It is to be feared that there will be none of this for the time being for the author of the symbolic plays "The Garden Party" and "The Notification," who has been celebrated the world over.

Aged 40, Havel, whose plays were banned in the CSSR by the party because of his commitment at the time of the Prague reforms, for the past 7 years has had to earn his living as an auxiliary worker at a brewery in the village of Vlcice u Trutnova at the edge of the Riesengebirge [Giant Mountains].

When the author had his new play "Crooks' Opera" performed by amateurs in the hall of an inn in Prague last fall, with friends as an audience (see SPIEGEL No 46/1975), the secret police had the actors in for questioning. A short time thereafter, the police confiscated Havel's driver's license, a traffic patrol having noted that, contrary to regulations, there were no bandage and tweezers in his automobile first aid kit.

The latest chicanery now is to isolate the young playwright from any contact with abroad: despite a personal invitation to Vienna by Austrian Minister for Education and Arts Fred Sinowatz, he has been denied an exit visa by the Prague authorities.

Even an intervention by Austrian Foreign Minister Erich Bielka-Karltreu was of no avail with the party leaders in Prague, Czechoslovak Minister of Culture Milan Klusak telling the Austrian ambassador in Prague that "regrettably" he had no responsibility in the matter as Havel was "not a representative of Czechoslovak culture and literature."

According to the minister, Havel, like any citizen, "was of course free to exercise the rights to which he was entitled"; but an application for an exit visa by citizen Havel was also of no avail. Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has now put the Prague refusal before the cabinet in order to establish in what way the refusal runs counter to the Helsinki resolutions.

The real reason for the proscription by the party of the best known representative of CSSR culture abroad, theatergoers in Vienna have been able to read about in their playbills, in an interview which Havel gave the Italian Communist Party organ "L'UNITA" but which the paper never published.

This is what Havel said about the cultural scene in Prague: "The worst thing is not really that the theaters are not allowed to perform the majority of the more important contemporary plays, nor that the majority of today's Czechoslovak playwrights may not be performed, but that the kind of theater has been utterly killed off which I consider to be the most important and which is the only one I am interested in--theater as a place for human and social self-analysis."

According to Havel, the Czechoslovak theater remains but a component of the centrally directed consumers industry, strictly governed by bureaucratic rules, with any attempt at crossing these limits being stopped by the bureaucracy or by the police.

Asked about his personal fate, the author answered: "Anything that recalls my former activity as an author has been carefully eliminated As a citizen --entirely within the law--I came to belong to the stratum of those "outcasts" who, because of their convictions, are exposed to various kinds of discrimination in our country. To have anything in common with these people is extremely dangerous for anyone who has not yet been cast out completely."

8790
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

VOCATIONAL APPRENTICESHIPS--On 30 October 1976 those students who will have completed the 10th class of secondary school education in 1977 and who wish to begin vocational training will receive application forms. Graduates of the 10th class of secondary schools can choose a vocation from among 224 apprenticeship vocations with a total of 555 fields of specialization. There will also be an increased need for young craftsmen. Students who do not advance as far as the 10th class of their secondary school education but who have reached at least the eighth class have the opportunity, as of 20 December 1976, of applying for an apprenticeship contract from among 138 vocations. Students leaving school before the eighth class will receive 1 to 2-year training courses in certain skilled workers' vocations. The apprenticeship lists of the kreis councils contain information on the various vocations, the number of apprenticeship vacancies in these vocations, and the enterprises of a given kreis which are hiring apprentices. These lists are displayed in the secondary schools and the vocational counseling centers. Apprenticeship openings are available as follows: 77,000 in industrial enterprises, 35,000 in construction, 19,000 in transportation, 25,000 in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, 21,000 in trade, and 14,000 in the local services and supply industry, including numerous small handicraft enterprises. [Excerpts] [East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 19 Oct 76 pp 5-6]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

MSZMP'S NEMES TRACES HUNGARY'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE WW II

Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 9 11 Aug 76 pp 22-28 LD

[Article by Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) Central Committee Politburo member Dezso Nemes: "From the Lessons of the Class Struggle for Power in Hungary"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpt] In 1946 [Hungary's] Communist Party set itself the immediate task of /developing the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution/, and /by peaceful means/.

What was our party's attitude in this period to the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

At that time the Communist Party believed that people's democracy was a path to socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This viewpoint gave rise to discussions in the party which became livelier the further the process of the country's transition to the socialist path went. But precisely this was the party's official position, and the overwhelming majority of communists accepted it.

It is well known that at that time our party was not alone in that position, and this was in circumstances when our party was sharing power and playing a leading role in running the country.

It would be a mistake to believe that this position was solely of a tactical nature and served to reassure those who sympathized with socialism but objected to the dictatorship of the proletariat so "compromised" by anticomunist propaganda. The party's leaders, most of them at least, genuinely believed that if the country could embark peacefully on the socialist path, then workers power in the form of dictatorship of the proletariat would not be needed for the attainment of socialist aims. It was neither the wish nor the fault of the communists that life refuted this. In the atmosphere of the Cold War begun by the Western powers and intensified by the U.S. atomic blackmail, and also of the extremely exacerbated domestic political struggle, the transition to the socialist path combined with the assertion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At first it was established that the people's democracy fulfills

the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat--and this was indeed so; then it was ascertained that the power, being of the nature of a workers power, had in the form of the people's democracy established the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus our supposition that people's democracy would lead to socialism in the absence of dictatorship of the proletariat was not justified. But nonetheless, behind this supposition there stood /something new/ which it could rest on. It was, primarily, that the world situation had changed and the international influence of the Soviet Union, which had played the main role in the victory over fascism, had increased, and insured effective defense of people's democracy countries from attempts at interference by imperialist powers. And second, it was that in Hungary, in the conditions of people's democratic power and in the process of the country's transition to the socialist path of development, the working class had been able not only to /neutralize/ the middle strata, especially the middle peasantry, but even to make a significant part of them its /allies/; the working class led the country onto the socialist path, relying on a /broad people's democratic alliance/, and workers power was embodied in the form of people's democratic power supported by this alliance.

This increased the opportunities for the people's democratic power's mass base to continue to broaden in the course of socialist building, and for the hitherto neutral middle strata to become its allies, thus accelerating the process of isolating reactionary forces, eliminating exploitation and turning all members of society into workers.

However, our party's then leadership drew a non-Leninist conclusion from the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Leninist teaching, the working strata, including the middle peasantry, who are neutralized only during the power struggle, ought to be attracted as allies to the side of workers power after it has been won. Our party's then leadership proceeded from the erroneous thesis according to which under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle inevitably becomes steadily more acute, and took the course of narrowing the people's democratic alliance and of unfounded intensification of the dictatorship aspect of power. This was combined with mistakes committed in economic development and other spheres, and also with other serious consequences of the cult of personality. All this, despite the very substantial achievements in socialist industrialization, led not to the isolation of hostile elements but to an accumulation of errors which could be widely utilized by counterrevolutionary propaganda and overt and covert hostile subversive work. In 1956, deceiving a substantial part of the people who had failed to gain an insight into events, the enemies were even able to try to overthrow workers power. Thus, following the elimination of attempts at counterrevolution, our party's new leadership had to put many things right, to consolidate workers power and to develop the Leninist policy of alliance of the working classes.

Returning to present-day discussions, it is interesting to see what real facts are the basis for the supposition that under the changed circumstances in

certain developed capitalist countries socialism is feasible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact that state capitalism has gained ground or can be increased significantly under democratic people's power and become the kind of support for transition to the socialist path of which there could scarcely be any talk previously? Or that the present technical level of production and the pressure of the large monopolies induce small producers into intensified cooperative production, and that if they can prevent their cooperatives becoming appendages of the monopolies or--with the aid of democratic people's power--free themselves from this crushing dependence, then they will begin effectively to promote the country's socialist transformation? Or the fact that besides the working class a significant and increasing part of the middle strata are seeking an escape from the worsening social crisis of capitalism in the direction of socialism, as is expressed in the positions and genuine desires of their political representatives?

In any case, I think that this is a question of factors which the fraternal parties are investigating thoroughly with the aim of drawing appropriate political conclusions from them. However, there is no doubt that if the dictatorship of the monopolies, which is increasingly plunging the countries where it rules into blind alleys or dangerous adventures, is replaced by democratic people's power whose aim is to insure the genuine socialist transformation of society, and thus to root out the exploitation of man by man and turn every member of society into a worker--then that power, whatever national form it may take, will perform the historical function of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In our times the question of whether a multiparty system is desirable in a socialist society, or whether it is always necessary to strive for the existence of a single party, is a subject of debate. Experience shows that socialist development can be implemented in either case. If a multiparty system promotes the implementation of the plans and goals of the socialist transformation of society, then its positive aspects can become dominant by assisting the expansion and strengthening of the people's democratic--and then, of the socialist--alliance of the working class and the remaining worker classes and strata, even in the event that valuable strength is spent fruitlessly in political rivalry. But if the struggle for power becomes dominant in interparty relations, then in our opinion it is scarcely possible to avoid internal and external antisocialist forces donning "democratic" or even "socialist" garb and making an attempt to paralyze socialist building and overthrow the people's power.

If a multiparty system in a socialist country is characterized by a political alliance established on a basis of socialist aims which have become common for all, and its activity is determined by these aims, then, as we understand it, in a greater or lesser space of time Marxist-Leninist ideas will also become widely disseminated in the communists' ally parties. As a result they may unite if they consider it expedient.

Political development in 1945-1948 in Hungary--following the elimination of the power of the large landowners and capitalists and the country's transition

to the path of socialist planned economy--led to the ousting of the majority of anticomunist forces from the coalition parties. Where in fall 1944 the national revival program advanced by the communists became common for the whole democratic national coalition, in 1947 the first three-year plan proposed by us also became the common program. The coalition parties, freed from the majority of anticomunist elements, acknowledged that the country's political leader was the Communist Party, and, after its unification with the Social Democrats--the Hungarian Workers Party. This was acknowledged by all not because our party /declared/ its leading role but because, with all its /activity/, it proved this in practice. As a result political rivalry in relations between the allied parties receded into the background.

The coalition parties--meaning the above-mentioned party of small owners and the peasant party, uniting certain strata of the poor and the intelligentsia--having adopted a program and specific plans for socialist building, began to participate in their implementation. Thus conditions were most favorable for the multiparty coalition to continue to operate on the basis of the realization of common socialist aims. However, as a result of grave distortions in the policy of the party leadership and government in 1949 the reverse happened: the coalition parties' opportunities for activity rapidly contracted and for a short period ran out completely. A significant part of the supporters of the former alliance of parties, admittedly with less inspiration, joined in the socialist building of the country. The other part--voluntarily or through compulsion--became passive. This was one of the consequences of the sectarian line of narrowing the political alliance.

Later, in their utterances against workers power, the counterrevolutionary elements activated a certain part of these people who had "withdrawn into themselves," cleverly utilizing their just resentment. During the fall 1956 attempt at counterrevolution, the slogan of party plurality was proclaimed and the creation of various parties began. But at that time they wanted to utilize this as a /means of overthrowing workers power/, and those who had previously cooperated with the communists were not allowed into the parties organized under former names. Granted, individual authoritative figures, despite their ties with the communists, were even invited into the parties to utilize their personal authority. But such people refused to cooperate with these groups, seeing their obvious counterrevolutionary aspirations. And when the attempt to overthrow workers power failed, that also put an end to attempts to revive the multiparty system. In 1956 it was gravely compromised among us as a means in the hands of the enemies of workers power and of Western imperialist agents.

However, the newly consolidated workers power was faced with the task of cooperation in building the new society with everyone--including those who had earlier "saved themselves" in passivity--who was ready to participate directly in this, and to help in correcting the errors committed.

The party placed on the agenda the development of a political alliance of communists and nonparty people on a broad basis, within the context of the

/patriotic people's front/. In it the Leninist alliances policy, adapted to the given circumstances, found expression. The people's front became established more quickly than expected, and became a significant factor in the country's political development.

The main condition for consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the development of /socialist democracy/ in all the principal spheres of social life. We do not consider it decisive whether socialist building is performed under a single party or multiparty system; the main thing is to insure as fully as possible in practice workers power, the elimination of man's exploitation of man, the people's material and cultural advance and the nation's socialist prosperity.

Our system's political development now proceeds to a lesser extent on an inherited basis. It is now decisively developing on its /own basis/. The determining criteria for the people are not those proclaimed by socialism's enemies --and supposedly in the interests of "democracy" or even of "socialism"--or those which feed on the various illusions of well-meaning people, but those which ensure from our own ideals, from real facts, from the very content of that great historic task--the building and defense of the new society, and the dissemination and development of socialist ideas.

One such criterion is the observance of freedom of conscience, which is imperatively necessary for the development of socialist views and for political cohesion with those who are in dispute over certain questions but who accept the party's general policy and plans for socialist building and are ready to assist in the implementation of these plans. Insuring freedom of conscience promotes political cohesion with the religiously minded masses and church figures who consider the cause of socialist building as their own. The party also respects their desire to combine religious views with the practice of creating the socialist society. Therefore even church members, including their leaders, can participate in the activity of patriotic people's front organs with a clear conscience.

It is well known that the struggle for power does not end with the winner of power. There is a struggle to /preserve/ it, which is intertwined with much work for the transformation of society. In our country's conditions, and we think not only in ours, this process also included the elimination of economic and cultural backwardness, which naturally represented a significant "additional" task. The /nature of power/ too cannot fail to change in the course of all this.

In the West they love to call our one-party system some kind of "totalitarian" system. However, this is a total misunderstanding or else a total lie which is completely refuted by our social activity's multifaceted development, by the comprehensive cooperation of party and nonparty people and by the population's growing participation in the varied work of state organs, primarily the local councils. The development of the activity of public organizations, particularly the trade unions, would be an example. They helped to win and develop

people's power and they participate in shaping the nature of power and in the preparation and implementation of socialist building plans. The trade unions have a say in the adoption of government decisions, and in the allocation of consumer funds at both national and local level, and they participate in the compilation of cultural and sociopolitical plans and play a large role in their implementation. The trade unions work hand in hand with the party, fully accepting its policy, but in the capacity of independent organizations. Precisely for this reason they can exert more effective support both for the party and for the government in the resolution of common and everyday tasks. A growing role in our social life is also played by scientific associations, cultural and sports unions and various societies which satisfy the population's most varied demands. The socialist state actively supports their activity.

In connection with the development of the nature of power I will mention only the changes which have occurred since the building of the foundations of socialism was finished and the transfer of small-scale agriculture to the cooperative path was completed.

In the period prior to the building of the foundations of socialism the alliance of the two principal worker classes was a /people's democratic alliance of the socialist working class and the small-scale peasantry/. With the private peasantry's embarkation on the cooperative path, that is, with the socialist transformation of the countryside, this people's democratic alliance was turned into a /socialist alliance/, and the people's democratic cohesion of the nation into the /nation's socialist unity/.

Before the socialist reorganization of agriculture we stressed that the leading class in the society building socialism, the working class, /involves/ the small-scale peasantry and its other allies in the management of society. Once the private peasantry has created production cooperatives, this becomes a matter of something more--of the joint shaping of the socialist society and at the same time of the /joint further development of socialist/ power. The working class' leading role and the guiding role and responsibility of its revolutionary party are of course preserved and their tasks increase, but /workers power becomes the power of the whole people building socialism/, and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat /develops on the path of transformation into a state of all the people/. It is this process which leads to the creation of developed socialist society, and the Hungarian People's Republic has already traversed a significant part of this path.

CSO: 1800

HUNGARY

WRITER SCORNS FLAUNTED AFFLUENCE, MIMICS OF WESTERN CHIC

Nyiregyhaza KELET-MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 26 Sep 76 p 7

[Article by Vilmos Farago: "Affected People"]

[Text] Every age has had its own affected people. And the writers of every age have had a good laugh at them. Because their freshly acquired money or rank obliges affected people to do things they could not be hired to do for rank or money though maybe they might try to mimic such things. They are unpolished, so they are over-refined. Their sense of beauty is faulty, so they flirt with beauty. They are uninformed, so they pontificate. They are bound to the earth, so they twitter like birds. Their personalities do not fit their imagined or real position; their elevation is a new suit of clothes on their wobbly form. The Roman comedians had a good laugh at them, Boccaccio of Florence contrived splendid jokes against them, the Parisian Moliere laughed at them in a series of comedies (the very word comes from him, his bourgeois gentilhomme made the figure immortal), the French called them parvenus, the English called them snobs, in Hungarian literature the Peleske notary of Jozsef Gvadanyi met them first in Buda and they twittered there throughout the nineteenth century Hungarian comedies, on the stage of Karoly Kisfaludy, Ede Szigligeti and Gergely Csiky, whence a direct path leads to the contemporary theater, for example Karoly Szakonyi's "Hongkong Wig."

So, the affected people are again in fashion. It is no wonder that they are being pilloried from cabaret jokes through head-shaking notes to scourging articles; we are beginning to stumble across them in life too.

They are the ones who, in the dawn of the new affectedness 15 years ago, were so proud of their "Western baggage."

They are the ones who went as far as Vienna, not to see the tower of the Stefanskirche, but to brag about having been in "Italy" and then "Spain" or maybe "Greece." Now a Mediterranean cruise is in fashion, and Japan.

They are the ones who were the first to have TV, washing machines, ice boxes (this was in the dawn of the new affectedness) and when everyone had those they had color TV and automatic washing machines.

They discovered that one had to have "garden parties" at weekend houses, with charcoal grills because they were so "original" and "rustic."

They were the ones who ran up the entire scale of fashionable drinks, the first being (do you remember it?) common gin, then Cuban rum, then Scotch whiskey and French cognac. Now the "exotic" drinks are in fashion, Asian rice brandy, for example.

They are the ones who spoke devotedly of a French girl named Sagan, until her novels reached Hungary and turned out to be lemonade.

They are the ones who paid 400 forints for a copy of NAGYVILAG because it contained an even more devastating American version of Sagan, "Love Story."

They were the first to delight their children with special classes--gymnastics, ballet, French, tennis, piano. And they started the children's dressing contest which spread through the schools like an epidemic.

They are the ones who are always ahead of us with something to brag about--their possessions, their information, their inside stories. They had the first cassette tape recorders, Levi pants, manna from the sea. They know the Paris fashions, the private lives of actors and the secrets of public life. One can learn from them how uninformed he is because he does not know who great man X's brother-in-law is, that a new car is not chic any more but an antique one is, which ingenious auto factories are manufacturing in series and even though old cars are chic what is really chic is the horse and what sort of a man is it that does not tour on horseback, imagine, my dear, one farm even advertises parforce hunting.

Funny, eh? But however much we laugh or grumble about them from cabaret jokes through head-shaking notes to scourging articles I would be ashamed to bring them up if I could only repeat the cabaret jokes, notes and articles and not say something new about them. I think I can say something new. Not very new, of course, but something we do not always think through when condemning affected people.

One thing is that affectedness is, naturally, a symptom accompanying the newly rich (it always was). But when we condemn the symptoms do we also condemn those who are newly rich? To speak plainly, does it make us angry that living conditions are improving, that there are more and more people who are acquiring an income, through their work and talent, which makes it possible for them to exchange their old poverty for their well-being of today? Are we angry at the so often mentioned status symbols--the cars, the weekend houses, and such "baggage?" I say we should not be angry. There is no need to fear well-being --this is what we fought for, in hunger, that we should live well. We should be afraid of the symptoms, of laughable and condemnable behavioral mistakes into which we all might fall.

And this is the other thing we should think about. We are all potentially affected. The Roman comedians, Boccaccio of Florence, the Parisian Moliere and

Gergely Csiky of Pest could sharpen their pens on a thin social class, the criticism was of a rising, already well-off but unpolished class, in some cases (in the case of Gvadanyi for example) from the conservative viewpoint of "born nobility" and provincial professions of true Hungarianness. But on whom does our criticism fall now? On all of us. It is not a stratum, not a class, but an entire people which has begun to exchange its milleniums'--old poverty for well being. We are those on whom those new clothes hang, so is it any wonder if we behave clumsily, if we boast childishly in them, if Mayakovskiy's iron worker moved into a new apartment brags to the world that he has a bathroom? Or that the engineer son of that iron worker now boasts of his "Western baggage," the trip to Spain, the automatic washing machine, the charcoal grill, the Scotch whiskey, the spoiled children, and his cultural or public life inside information?

The clothes are too new, the temptation too great for us to behave in them as the lords behaved. We are parvenus, snobs, mimics, affected people. But the severity of the criticism does not change if we know that it applies to us. The viewpoint of the criticism, however, does change. We must look from within and with self-correcting anger at the affectedness of today so that we can learn to wear the new clothes in a manner worthy of us--and not as the lords did.

With socialist style.

8984

CSO: 2500

POLAND

'LE MONDE' REPORTS BIENKOWSKI ALLEGATIONS OF 'ANARCHY' IN POLAND

Paris LE MONDE in French 14 Oct 76 p 2 LD

[Unattributed report: "A Former Minister Urges the Population To Defend Its Civil Rights"]

[Text] According to reports from Warsaw, Wladyslaw Bienkowski, who was education minister under former Polish United Workers Party first secretary Gomulka, has recently issued an "appeal to the Polish people and authorities," urging them to react against "deterioration" in agencies responsible for public order.

The methods used by these agencies, Bienkowski writes, "are not only contrary to the laws but also creates a feeling of disgust and rejection among the citizens." The June events, he continues, have created an opportunity for ascertaining this. "The people arrested were beaten up and tortured and thus forced to admit crimes of which they were accused. Attempts to revive in our country methods bearing the stamp of those used during the occupation and of Stalin's, Beria's and the security service's practices in the fifties must give rise everywhere to feelings of disgust and awareness of great danger and must be seen as a symptom of the sickness affecting our state agencies."

And he adds: "The state agencies which violate laws and show respect for neither fundamental rights nor moral principles in civil affairs are a sign of the anarchy prevailing in our country. They are destroying the basis of civil discipline which is a result of the community's solidarity with the authorities and, therefore, its confidence in state agencies.... It seems that the present authorities, which are facing serious and difficult problems, are aware of the great importance of fruitful cooperation among all state agencies and of the importance of insuring that they work in solidarity with the entire population. It is, therefore, hard to believe that the obvious violations of the principles of such cooperation are consistent with their desires. It is much more probable that certain state agencies, such as the militia, have become independent and have imposed their own methods on those who, being afraid of seeing their support weakening, have tacitly sanctioned their methods, thus showing lack of strength and determination."

In conclusion, the document calls on the Polish people to defend their civil rights more forcefully than in the past.

We have also learned that, following the example given by Soviet dissidents a few years ago, the Polish opposition circles are now clandestinely circulating in Warsaw the first issue of a "Chronicle of Current Public Events." This bulletin, whose first edition consists of seven typed sheets, has been inspired by the "Chronicle of Current Events" once published in the USSR in the form of "Samizdat" (clandestine publishing). It concentrates on information on repressive measures taken against Ursus and Radom workers after the 25 June demonstrations. It appears that new trials are to take place in Radom in November.

CSO: 3100

POLAND

EDUCATION MINISTER ON PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Warsaw NOWA SZKOLA in Polish Jun 76 pp 2-10

[Article by Jerzy Kuberski, minister of Education and Training: "Problems in the Development of Education in a Developed Socialist Society (Selected Issues)"]

[Text] The resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] stressed, "in building a developed socialist society the Party will lead the working class and the entire nation on a basis of total conformity with Marxist-Leninist theory in experience in agreement with it, in practical socialist development in Poland and in other fraternal socialist countries, and particularly in experience in communist development in the USSR."¹ It further stated, "in political and social activity, in production, in the formation of interpersonal relationships, everywhere the primacy of qualitative criteria must be assured. This is a condition for the further propitious development and consolidation of socialism, a condition for raising the living standards of the people, for freeing reserves and for the complete exploitation of possibilities created by the historical work of the nation."²

The vision of building a developed socialist society is anticipative. This is because it assumes the fulfillment today of tasks perceived in the course of 15-20 years. The majority of these will take place before 1990. All of them are united in concern that the quantitative progress already achieved be transformed into qualitative progress, that the process of freeing social energy and creativity may proceed in a planned, systematic way, transforming the people participating in it and changing the social structures in which they function and which they help to create. The formation of dynamic personalities is necessary to fulfill these tasks. Among other things, this places importance on freeing the creative energy of individuals and of entire groups in the formation of a modern material and technological base. The economic growth rate depends on the effectiveness of this process, as does the further consequence of an increase in satisfying social needs compatible with it, including the development of culture and education.

Education Should Outdistance Socioeconomic Development

In comparison with the rate of human reproduction in the last 15-year period, the increase in the number of human beings between 1975-1990 will be considerably less. A reduction in the human birth rate, as well as changes in the demographic structure of Polish society, force us to reflect on how to make human life and work more valuable and, at the same time, more socially effective, what to equip individuals and generations with to prepare them for independent social and occupational roles, and in which directions to undertake current and future work of a research, introductory, reform and organizational nature in the field of education in order to keep pace with the needs of the future. What should we be thinking of already so that education can and will outdistance the socioeconomic development of the country?

The answers to the above questions form the object of our considerations. They are made in the context of an analysis of vision and criteria determining the path of building a developed socialist society. They have been the object of a number of theoretical and prognostic conferences. They permit universal reflection on educational matters in the context of: economic progress, the scientific and technological revolution, social progress, the socialist way of life and also the building of international educational relations based on principles of peaceful coexistence: the security and cooperation of nations. From year to year the above-mentioned matters will attain a higher and higher rank in the activity of our country. This will also require a further growth in financial outlays intended for the development of education.

Embodying a modern vision of a developed socialist society is not only a total and creative extension of conclusions from the developmental path up to now. At the same time it is a projection of the condition which is to lead to further development of the personality of man and his social community. At the same time this development can take place only when the material and spiritual needs of the working people are satisfied in a harmonious way and when their responsible activity is developed and shown in professional activity, in social and personal life and in contacts with various groups of human beings. Under these conditions, too, "the development of mankind is realized in the process of developing socialist society."³ Under these same conditions the total social and local role of education will increase. Here we must recall that a special role is assigned to the school and teacher in the pedagogical process of developing relations among work, study and recreation. In the resolution of the Seventh Congress we read, "School should be a basic link in a uniform socialist system of education and training, forming the ideological and intellectual values of the younger generation and inculcating it with the ability to act effectively."⁴ In addition it states, "particular care and concern should envelop the teaching profession, involve improvement in the

living and working conditions of teachers, raise their professional, ideological and ethical qualifications, and develop around schools and teachers an atmosphere of good-will, trust and aid on the part of society. The social status of the teaching profession must be raised."⁵

Educational theory and practise is an artful synthesis fulfilling a number of indispensable methodological conditions. The most important of these are:

It should outdistance the development of the socioeconomic realities of the state and nation;

Consider objective proposals for qualitative and quantitative changes regarding the school system, as well as broader institutional and extra-institutional systems of socialist social education;

Guarantee opportunities for the development of human talents and abilities in many directions on a nationwide scale; and

Organize all of the mutually related activities in the area of work, study and recreation in agreement with the principle of forming optimal conditions for the universal development of the individual, as well as for liberating his creative and highly qualified activity.⁶

In the 1970's the governments and societies of all countries of the socialist community faced a need to improve the structural strategy of modifying the body of educational systems created by them.⁷ In addition, and this is particularly essential in our opinion, work was begun to reform the formative and training content resulting from the "program fitting the generation," which is building a developed socialist society. In relation to traditional forms of education and training, this program is distinguished by its degree of intensity. Its goal is to build "creative personalities" and "creative collectives," as well as organizing a system of social contacts which would endow every innovative and inquiring activity with meaning and dynamism. In this matter it assumes simultaneous effect on both the individual and his community in a social scale far deeper and broader than ever before. The initial condition in organizing this process is, therefore, a well-known one, planned liquidation of cultural and educational imbalances between the environments of people who do physical and mental work, between inhabitants of the country and the city, and between various circles, generations and professions. On the other hand the organizational conditions are the goals of full universal high school education, considerable development of the preschool system, association between the trade education system and modern factories, and consolidation in regard to the needs of the socioeconomic development of a system for further training and educating working people. Another important matter is constant

concern with the uniformity of the educational results, progress in modernizing training content and methods, and the creation of conditions for building an educated socialist society.⁸

Education and Economic Progress

Among the leading tasks set by the Seventh PZPR Congress, the demand for "assuring inseparable control of socialist production circumstances in the country and in the city" is of special importance. This demand should be associated with the preservation in social consciousness of a conviction that the level of education exerts an effect on socioeconomic development. This is a direction of activity able to be realized through adoption of systematic work uniting the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the social values of socialism. After all, we know that socialist social practise confirms the relationships between the increasing advances of education and growth in work productivity, between educational results associated with the preparation of people for their present and future social and professional roles, and the generalization of socialist work relations and the more and more complete satisfaction of social needs and expectations.⁹

Great structural transformations accompanying the process of building a developed socialist society require the use of the whole school system for new and currently developing needs. The Ministry of Education and Training, in conjunction with interested ministries and research and planning units, is actively participating in work for the sake of current and future modernization of all educational activities. A particularly essential matter is keeping up with the social involvement of those branches of production which are associated with the scientific and technological revolution and will develop in a particularly dynamic way.

We relate all decisions in the matter of the directions of training to the anticipated changes which will take place in employment by 1990. The concepts currently elaborated for planning education anticipate a considerable increase in the interest of schools in those areas of formation which anticipate a development of widely accepted services for the people. A total concept of education in the country, including agricultural education, is also in the process of reformation. In agriculture, as is generally known, a number of socioeconomic transformations, leading to intensive mechanization and a reduction in the employment situation is assumed, especially in the period between 1981-1985. The greatest transformation will be carried out in the process of training and teaching "farmers of a new type" with a complete general secondary and professional specialized education. In this process the functions of education are to integrate and develop. The increase in the professional qualifications of the working class affects its approach to technological intelligence. This process produces conditions for the education and self-improvement of many thousands of specialists in the course of solving productive,

technical and technological problems. It also forms the basis for new social citizens--educated ones. This transformation, already going on at the present time, will grow stronger as time passes. This is because it is anticipated that in a period of 20 years the group of engineering and technical workers and administrative machinery workers will double. The role of specialists employed in production and management will have a predominant increase here. Their relations with people in science and culture will have great significance for the future. To a considerable degree this will be decisive in regard to:

The direction the concepts of introducing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution should take;

On what the process of humanizing the effects should be based; and

What personal and interpersonal contacts formed under conditions of work, science and recreation will fulfill a significant culture-producing and civilizing role decisive for the state of social awareness and activity.

The increase in economic and pedagogical culture will lead to grounding in social awareness of convictions that:

Educational progress forms a base for advances in the newest science, technology, techniques and production, and therefore in a direct way affects all work modernizing the economy of our country, and the scale and effectiveness of its activities;

Educational progress favors the generalization of social work relations based on principles of good-will, sincerity, competence and the organization of educated collectives;

Educational progress represents a "chance" for every man on the way to cultural, professional, social and political self-realization;

Educational progress permits self-awareness of human needs and opportunities to satisfy them;

Educational progress contributes to the formation of habits raising and complementing qualifications, the use of scientific methods of working, and also rational arguments in contacts with other people; and

Educational progress, leading to an increase in the qualifications of workers as a result of educational work and socialization of the individual, teaches them to respect all kinds of work, including manual labor, so-called simple work.

The above-mentioned issues in Polish humanism and pedagogy have not always been given sufficiently high rank. At the same time their role is difficult to evaluate. This is because the question of socialist economic education has assumed the position of central issue of our times. Even today there is a pressing need to saturate the entire process of education in school studies and in professional work, improvement in systems of practise and apprenticeship and the approach of educational institutions to sources of modernity with economic theories. In addition the need for using economic criteria in the organization of direct productive activity and activity modernizing the process of production and in adopting scientific, technological, organizational and educational work is perceived more and more widely. These are essential conditions for maintaining high dynamics in the socioeconomic development of our country.

The problems of economic education and training should be perceived with special concreteness: the school, the factory, local authorities and institutions, and means of mass communication. So far a great deal still remains to be done in this field. It is also true that problems of the share of education in creating and increasing the national income were seen through the prism of economic representations in the area of extensive economic development, when the alleged lack of productivity on the part of education was strengthened through the direct involvement of vocational education in the manufacturing and productive process. These tendencies have not proven correct in life.

Aiming at "assuring inseparable control of socialist production circumstances in the country and in the city" requires a great deal of resistance in consciousness and productive habits associated with the heritage of the capitalist epoch to be broken. Of particular importance here are issues of private ownership of means of production found in the small producer sector. Important changes in this field cannot take place on a nationwide scale without an appeal by the school for new and highly qualified rural authorities exerting heavier and heavier influence on local opinion. From this point of view particularly great tasks are levied on the rural gmina group school, the administration of which should consider the process of educating children and youth, their vocational preorientation and the effect of education on all of local society. In seeking allies, the rural gmina group school, turning into a complete secondary school, in its activity should harmoniously solve tasks associated with:

The socioeconomic development of its own region through joint efforts in the vocational preparation and preorientation of working personnel, selection of capabilities and talents, cooperation with the school system in organization on a level higher than secondary:

Propagation of rural education, self-improvement of mature people already working, and also active participation in the socio-cultural activities of other institutions and associations:

Planned organization of social activity for matters of school, children and youth, and the position and authority of the teacher.¹⁰

The process of forming socialist relations in production, both in the country and in the city, requires a constant reduction in the inequality which has been formed in the course of historical development between country and city. An indubitably important factor is the spread of specimens of urban culture, particularly working culture, to the country. The increased interest in modern things, keeping pace with the mechanization of agriculture and agrotechnological achievements, can and should develop social interest in education, in respect to which the school itself should take the offensive and set an attitude. This concept will be helped by setting up a professional profile for general education throughout the universal compulsory secondary school system. In this matter the profiling should consider both unsolved local problems connected with the formation of socialist conditions of production in the country and the fact of the natural flow of a large number of rural youth to cities during the period of the 1970's and 1980's, which must naturally be linked today with concern for the rapid equalization of the level of education in the country and in the city. This matter is aided by the planned system of further training and self-improvement of the pedagogical personnel, based on the principle of compulsory direction and already functioning throughout the country.¹¹

Assurance of inseparable control of socialist production circumstances in the country and in the city requires a new look at the ideological, educational and social tasks of the 10-year secondary school. This refers to matters associated with up-to-date modernization of educational and training content, as well as to planned vocational preorientation concerned with the transformations which will take place in the development of the manufacturing forces and in the changing conditions of production. After all, at the present time we see a more and more expressed economic crisis in the traditional family economy in the country, while in the city we observe the non-profitability of activity contrary to good organization and work discipline. Serious pedagogical reflection is required to oppose the phenomena of social pathology and demoralization, and particularly the elimination of the influence of those models which reflect sly attitudes derived from the so-called second, not completely legal, economic life in our country. The school cannot remain indifferent to these phenomena. We cannot create an attitude of tolerance toward undesirable social phenomena, the strains of which represent a small, but at the same time sharply perceived, margin of our life and project into all educational, ideological and ethical conditions rising in the course of generations.

Education and the Scientific and Technological Revolution

A question continually stimulating Polish pedagogical thought is the share of education in the creation of the scientific and technological base and in merging the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the social values of socialism. A particularly large theoretical contribution in this area has been made by the communist and workers parties, whose conferences were held in Karlovy Vary in 1967 and in Moscow in 1969. They initiated ideological and scholarly reflection on the real innovative activity of various questions, solutions and decisions in the period approaching a time of intensive use and increase in all socialist elements of the productive forces. In the 1970's these matters were also discussed by the congresses of the communist and workers parties of the countries in our community. An extremely important place in the structure of these solutions is given to a choice of values and priorities affecting the manner of organizing thought, discernment and evaluation of the real situation, control of resistance and optimally effective introduction of definite concepts into life, and finally the control of the effects and improvement in the system of initiating activity in work performance, self-control and corrections. In the course of many discussions a basis was laid for the thesis, closely linking all forms of progress with the dynamic development of education, of reciprocally infiltrating spheres of values and social goals, which stimulate the development of science, new technology, techniques and direct production. Already today the effects of these considerations permit the following intertwining phases of the socialist variation of the scientific and technological revolution to be distinguished:

A phase of fascination with new technological, scientific and organizational solutions which, it appears, we already have behind us in the majority of countries in the socialist community;

A phase aiming at the liquidation of gaps, informational and technological, which are accompanied on the other hand by reflection on the kind of educational, cultural, scientific and social, in the widest sense of the word, conditions to be achieved for the recognition, assignment and action in effective creative areas of the greatest possible amount of human ability and talent; and

A phase of reflection on current and future possibilities of mankind, living within the sphere of effects of the technological, scientific and humanistic revolution, composed only in its new synthetic form of the content of modern philosophical and pedagogical culture consisting only of a complete reply to the challenge hurled to socialism by the scientific and technological revolution in highly developed capitalist countries.¹²

The scientific and technological revolution is not only a technological realization carried out in close association with the results of the revolution occurring in science. It is not only a "revolution in science" and "revolution by science." Under the conditions of developed socialism this is a considerably deeper process based on the solution of two super-scientific and technological tasks, that is, a search for complete knowledge about human capabilities in the context of scientific, social and cultural conditioning, and also humanizing this knowledge with full informational, technological and theoretical use of the contributions of all disciplines.¹³ In time the distinction introduced by us may prove to be important and fraught with consequences. After all, it verifies the naive idea that the use of socio-organizational solutions adopted in capitalism can be something more than a mere beginning on the newly transformed socialist route of accelerating progress. This permits us to perceive the distance which separates technological revolutions from scientific ones, and which differentiates productive and technical acceleration, and technological and scientific acceleration. There exists a theoretical and practical need for seeing further development in the context of the scientific and technological revolution being overgrown by a revolution of natural science, the latter in the socialist humanistic revolution.¹⁴ A comparison of science with production, by the world of nature discovered and mastered by the intellect and activity of mankind, and finally by the sphere of culture and civilization it is represented by this kind of question about the content of the quality of human life in a developed socialist society, which we are constantly trying to present to ourselves in a sharper and more concrete way right at the present time, but for which we are awaiting a complete answer from the theory of social development, including the contribution of sociological, psychological and pedagogical sciences.¹⁵

Considerable progress was achieved in the middle of the 1970's in the field of results in the area of general education. These tendencies are enhanced by the process of expanding the school system and various forms of self-improvement in the direction of complete universality of the secondary level of education in the country and in the city. Raising the level of teacher education to a complete higher level also has great significance for improving the "quality" of training and teaching. The situation obtained in this way allows us to see the pedagogical possibilities of inspiration through theoretical training, research and knowledge resulting from more pragmatic interests, for example, professional ones. This is primarily possible on the level of secondary and postgraduate training. This is also furthered through the obliteration of selective thresholds between the higher and secondary schools, and under conditions of saturating the entire teaching process with the content and methods of scientific work, including principles of rational intellectual work. The study of skillfulness in discerning and predicting phenomena and processes developing around us is an important question. It is clear that these transformations are directed more to the future than to the past for a point of departure, and should accept existing facts, the structure of their conditioning and genesis and also concepts of circumstances achieved in

the future which result from our ideological and ethical assumptions, laws of development of socioeconomic socialism, scientific knowledge, technological possibilities, and the condition of human and material resources. This type of transformation, based on interest in life and activity, in research and in making the abstract concrete and vice versa, should be the basis for the next phase in the development of mankind, hastening toward independent and creative social and vocational roles of every personality.

The problem of the share of education in creating and stimulating economic circumstances characteristic of the times of developed socialism is by no means limited to drawing social and pedagogical conclusions from the facts of progress in the scientific and technological revolution. We naturally observe this phenomenon most clearly and fully, but the progress achieved as a result of introducing it into life will parallel and be co-dependent on: socialist economic integration, activation of East-West economic relations, in the strategic use of the intensive development of new phenomena which have recently occurred in the raw material and energetic background. These matters must become the object of scientific and pedagogical reflection.

The share of education in preparing personnel to examine the economic "new logic" of the modern world, as never before in our history, involves the need to deepen modern patriotic motivation, and its association with broad-minded international education and international training. Soviet experience in a more and more meaningful and inspirational manner affects the content and functions of the Polish contribution in socioeconomic and humanistic sciences and thus has particular importance in the elaboration of scientific methods of accelerating economic and educational progress.

The formation of the group of connections: science--engineering--production, is to assure progress in the integration between science and the process of social reproduction. It must be kept in mind that both in the science--engineering system and in the engineering--production--education system, as well as in the science--production system, this complex fulfills the function of an indirect link, enabling the organization of various systems introducing new items into practise, just as, for example, does the organization of work and administration. The above-mentioned systems require thorough analysis which should take as its point of departure the effects of scientific work, for example, publications, expertise, prototypes, product models and so on, as well as innovation used in production, the system of education, recreation and "personal services" of definite people in the final phase. This analysis makes it possible to distinguish alleged newness from factual newness. The need to understand this fact and to understand all detailed proposals in the context of a methodologically integrated vision of developed socialist society, using and processing in its new structure former effects achieved in the scientific-technical, natural and humanistic revolution, faces the entire scientific background of education.

Education and Social Progress

Education is a factor stimulating and accelerating social development in all countries of the world.¹⁶ However, it exerts a particularly great influence when, developed on a social scale, it becomes a matter of nationwide availability of sources of knowledge. Up to now this condition has been fulfilled only in socialist countries, since their example has been able to affect the developing countries.¹⁷ In observing the regularities associated with the treatment of the right to education on an equal basis with other elementary "human rights" guaranteed in UN legislation, it is first of all necessary to mention the idea of social justice, accentuating the subjective human right to an educated decision about oneself, to aim at "complete self-realization."

Realization of the principle of social justice in access to sources of knowledge under the conditions of socialism relies primarily on the democracy of "equal opportunity." In the theory of developed socialism this refers to the preservation for all individuals of a constructive and creative relationship toward all, perceived and modified, positive and negative, systems of phenomena, incidents and tendencies. Distribution of goods and duties not only becomes a central problem in examining the ethical aspects of the above-mentioned questions, but forms the basis for fully humanized social and educational reflection making it possible to determine everything which people should change, transform and perfect through joint effort. Reliance on human capabilities cannot and should not be based on a statement of optimism. On the other hand it should be the effect of recognizing real social and pedagogical situations in which every man must be given a concrete opportunity to check his own abilities, skills, consistency and will power. The question of reasonable management of the so-called human factor requires greater improvement, based on science and social experience. Even at the present time we are observing the close connection between pedagogical activity in the processes of work, science and education, both for youth and for people already working, and between the policy of training, employment and increase in human qualifications, which is becoming more and more productive of results, particularly in the process of solving new qualitative, productive and creative tasks in times of the new socioeconomic and educational acceleration.¹⁸

The humanistic, and at the same time the real, shape of our socialist impressions in realizing the right of availability of education on all levels for all working people forces us to make a number of corrections which would lead to reducing the educational inequalities between country and city, between social classes and strata, and between various social and vocational circles. The activity of the Ministry of Education and Training in the first half of the 1970's concentrated on organizing gmina schools, making them allies and objectifying social and training tasks which it should fulfill in relation to rural parents and residents. At

present there exists a need to undertake total action which would enable, during the next 5-year period, adoption of activity to transform the gmina school into a full secondary school with new local tasks resulting from the political program of intensifying agricultural production and social needs of specialization in production circumstances in the country. In addition the reality of the projected activity should be based on the use of natural associations joining the economy and socio-cultural life of the country and city, the mechanism of goods exchange, technological services, mechanization and agrotechnology. The system of connections between classes, strata and vocational circles is undergoing and will continue to undergo further transformation. Their essence should be based on the security of the following social and education processes:

Awareness of the fact that in the field of realizing principles of social justice referring to the question of education and training, a continually critical confrontation of ideals and personal models will take place;

A conviction of the fact that in choosing desirable solutions, constantly essential are ideological, moral and social criteria which prefer conformity between expressed ideals, facts and the effects of activity leading to situations in which creative "integrated personalities" become real carriers of ideas of justice and progress;

An understanding of the need to treat the entire education and training process as a factor equalizing cultural differences between various classes, strata and circles;

Basing the mechanisms of seeking, finding and forming abilities and talents on the broadest possible social and nationwide foundation;

The use of schools and all education institutions and youth organizations as places for forming universally developed personalities, socialized, competent and active in the programmed and unprogrammed realization of the activity and work sought; and

Gradual formation, from the social point of view, of an educated society for the times of developed socialism presenting individuals and collectives with an opportunity for permanent educational and training development;

The directions of intensification of the educational influence pointed out above assume, not contradiction, but rather harmony between the influence of the school and the family, between ideological and educational organizations and the social reality, between the state and the national culture and traditions. The sum of educational reforms adopted by the government and the party, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the Polish people, is initiating a new stage in ideological and political confrontation.

This is not only taking shape in the sphere of theory and values, but also in the entire daily, socio-political practice of our country. To a like degree it concerns ideological, philosophical and moral questions, as well as consistency and obstinacy in incorporating the assumptions of the party and governmental policy in the organizational, educational and training realities of the Polish system of education.

Education in Times of a Developed Socialism

The historical process of building socialism has inevitably passed through a phase of a proletariat dictatorship, which in time was transformed into a working class state and opened perspectives for the formation of a nationwide state. Here there is no opposition between the class and the nationwide state in the sphere of acceptance and creative development, and active relations among all workers in reference to those ideas and values which which ensue from the ideological essence of the policy, economics and culture of socialism.

The above matters stand in the center of interdisciplinary research interests on the question of the creative development of the roundly developed personality and its system of contacts with the surrounding environment, culture, civilization and nature. In this connection the fact that education trains only part and that mature social life only consumes part of the imitative and creative possibilities contained primarily in the human potential capabilities seems to be especially important. Their release has to occur as the result of reliance of the contributions of science and pedagogical practice on the contributions and achievements of psychological, social and medical knowledge of man himself. The total activity undertaken in this direction unites all points of view of the mutually complementary mathematical, physical, technological, natural, social and humanistic disciplines. Formation of the following items within the framework of the socialist community is of great importance in accelerating the effects of this work:

A system of faster sharing of information about the experimental and introductory effects in the area of basic pedagogical research;

Coordination of plans and concentration of work looking for new solutions for topics of especial import for the development of natural economy and culture, and also those resulting from the international division of labor, specific contributions, specialization and bilateral cooperation;

Development of a multilateral exchange of information about the effects of introductory work relating both to basic and applied research;

Expansion of mutual assistance in the process of training and preparing scientific personnel and organizers of economic and social progress;

Acceptance of joint scientific research undertakings, socially important and methodologically integrated.

The progress achieved under conditions of the organization of education in times of a developed socialism is not and must not be a simple unification of reform activity. Its essence is based on "upward equality" and thus on the full exploitation, development and transformation of every original value in the course of the process of developing varied and mutually enriching national cultures. The depth of socialist motivation depends on the degree to which actual sources of creative activity are used, associated, among other things, with natural social groups, family relations, local and national tradition, ideological culture and political and economic awareness of the opportunities which socialism has made available to millions of people.¹⁹

The strength of the above-mentioned processes, their scale and universal range depend to a considerable extent on the ideological and moral unity of the various socialist societies. Under the conditions of passage to times of a developed socialism, they face similar tasks, above all the elimination of personality contrasts and differences between country and city, and between mental and manual work. The thesis that to a considerable extent it is the ideological, moral and professional level of mankind itself which will determine the quality of work and human life, and not some social position or other associated with the performance of definite work can already be formulated today with more and more justification. Today we already know that it is the strength of intellectual, moral and ideological persuasion, and not other non-essential aspects, which will become the permanent factor enriching our society with new concrete cultural and civilizing values. It is the increased and better planned use of human qualifications, more than in past periods of time, which makes it possible to distinguish the meaning of the educational revolution currently in progress from previous educational revolutions.

Education and the Socialist Way of Life

The progress achieved in knowledge of the directions of the socioeconomic acceleration of educational development under conditions of a developed socialism places the question of the socialist way of life in a new light. This is decided by many factors, but the most important of them have to be recognized as:

Current and future comment on socialist patriotism founded on a wider social base than ever before in the history of Poland;

Civic knowledge about the active relationship of every person to the question of rights and obligations forcing the individual to function in a system of socially desirable norms and expectations;

The share of education in creating a system of socialist interpersonal relationships;

Education of a socialist nation and of the socialist community through and for culture; and

Satisfaction of basic and higher, that is spiritual, needs by demonstrating the opportunities being opened to people as a result of using their access to education.

The development of pedagogical theory based on Marxist-Leninism studies has a special place in the list of these expectations. This explains the growing significance of methodological work enabling integration and modernization of work already carried out within the framework of the critical subject matter involving the question of modernizing the educational system in Poland. This also explains the increasing attempts to produce situations in which every enthusiastic pedagogue will have his own share in enriching the general theory of education and teaching. This is possible under the conditions of development and perfection of a socialist industrial civilization in which the scientific and technological training at the secondary and higher level is made universal in a constantly larger social range, and in which the process of eliminating simple manual labor and the increase in the importance of highly qualified complicated work leads to a need to shift toward the intelligence of the worker, his proficiency and thoughtfulness, instead of routine competence.

In analyzing the meaning of these changes, Bogdan Suchodolski rightly perceives the great opportunity involved in human aspirations, above all the goal of "self-realization of human personality," which can take place when "man as a producing human being is simultaneously an equally authorized participant in cultural development." Again he states, "A share in culture ceases to be an element characteristic of an elite, ceases to be the privilege of a small group of people, just as art does, culture becomes accessible every day and within a broad social spectrum. In this way the phenomenon of cultural universality becomes a factual trait of this industrial civilization, that is, the technological civilization, the civilization of large cities, and at the same time the civilization of radio and television, the civilization of all other forms of mass communication, and thus the civilization of the film as a modern art, and perhaps most dependent on the benefits of technology."²⁰

The essence of ideological, political and social choices which take place under conditions of passage to those ways of life which ensue from the development of the human personality in developed socialism, is based on understanding his subjective and creative role in transforming himself and living conditions. During the development of successive tasks of work, science, recreation and overcoming resistance and setbacks, theoretical knowledge undergoes considerable enrichment. The social experience of

individuals and collectives should therefore inspire all searches for optimal pedagogical solutions, both in the area of children and youth and in that of adults. After all, it is necessary to oppose all bourgeois theories which, based on representations of a crisis in ideology, education and school, see an alleged decline in the authority of the school and the teacher. Enlarging the cognitive questions of socialist pedagogy makes it possible to examine all problems of interest to it within the entire range of functioning pedagogical and non-pedagogical conditioning. The narrowly institutional point of view has produced and continues to produce a conviction that the possibilities of educational and training influences are limited. This has led to the fad of a so-called second pedagogical life, allegedly stronger than the effect of the school system. This point of view, presented for the first time in 1973 in "Report on the state of education," indicated the opportunity to escape the "total impossibility" condition involved primarily in assuming the influence of planned pedagogical effect in those areas of life which are linked with attitude inspiration, education, teaching and general human development. Interest in the socialist way of life is a logical extension of this searching.

The contribution of building socialism in Poland, just as in other countries of the socialist community, has presented the party and society in these countries with questions about the socialist way of life in the context of deliberations about:

What should be done to enhance the creative energy of the activity of all working people through the shift to more profound, authentically surviving work and creativity?

How is the authority of the school, the teacher, and also of all forms of personal influence to be used to maintain ideological, moral and political ties associated with the socialist system of values in everyday social life and in human aspirations?

With an ideological and social intensification and modernization of the content of socialist patriotic education, how can conditions be formed for full exploitation of the contribution of every advanced population?

An answer to these questions is the object of reflection on the part of philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and pedagogues.²¹ After all, despite the fact that it is well known that socialism in a very real way protects working people and leads them to the practice of their political rights and freedoms, its most important achievements are based primarily on the fact that it forms social conditions for their real guarantee and execution. At present, reflecting on the functions of education in the process of organizing the socialist way of life, we have been accustomed to indicating that the systematic superiority achieved by us over capitalism shows up particularly where free training and equal chances for all

in every field, universal freedom in scientific, cultural and social life, and free exploitation of the goods created by the goods come into play. It is exactly in times of building a developed socialist society that the dreams of the people and societies of self-realization and valuable life acquire a measurable meaning of truth transferable to the history of other people, their communities and generations. Bogdan Suchodolski writes, "under these limits of compulsion and risk we are prepared to judge that the critical significance in seeking a cure has an orientation which makes it possible to pass the horizons "of an organized life" in the direction of "of a valuable life."²²

Education in Contemporary International Life

We are witnesses to intersystem and international competition in the field of education becoming sharper. One of the basic questions of our era requiring reflection is in which of the social systems have conditions been created for more intensive and more effective development of productive forces, to what degree in the process of this transformation is the participant aware of the developmental goals of himself and of society. Questions about the humanization of the content of education and training are posited here in the context of reflection on the real and creative results of the effectiveness of human activity. In this case cultural and civilizing criteria are mutually interlocked, and also inspire interest in how people use the new achievements of science, technology, engineering and production for new needs, and the degree to which the natural world determines their development, activity and capacity for self-realization. The development of personality in socialist society and in capitalist society is distinguished in an extremely essential way, just as the subjective and objective relationships to man and the world of humanized culture and civilization are different, while on the other hand the world of objectified interpersonal relations and productive relations controlled by business mechanisms are different. These differences indicate a theoretical and practical connection between the issues of intersystem educational civilization and the total spectrum of problems in the ideological struggle transferred more and more frequently to the sphere of competing scientific and cultural, educational and training, solutions. Finally, in the course of the process of normalizing international relations of countries of different social structures, developing positively, these questions have been recognized in anticommunist strains during the delivery of proposals of the so-called "third camp" in the second phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Among other things, they referred to cultural, scientific and educational cooperation, exchanges of people and ideas, and also solutions to so-called humanitarian problems.²³

Education in socialist countries is based on the permanent foundations of Marxist-Leninist science. Its functions have to be regarded in a non-competitive way and independent of periodic political fluctuations. We see educational rivalry in the context of different values of ideological,

political, economic and cultural goals which socialism entails. The Soviet scholar and politician, Yevgeniy Michaylovich Koszevnikov, in a paper delivered at the Congress of Pedagogues of Socialist Countries in Berlin in 1974, declared, "it is important to understand the basic contradictions in the area of the quantitative and qualitative features characteristic of life styles, and of particular features of personality in socialism and in communism. Only socialist social formation guarantees a quantitative and qualitative characteristic life style and continuity in the development of following generations which not only makes it possible to maintain everything good which is inherited from ancestors, but also creates new values." He also stated, "one of the most important foundations for the formation of personality under conditions of socialism is collectivism. Marxism-Leninism is far from thinking that collectivism and equality in one or another society automatically guarantees quantitative and qualitative life values. Collectivism and equality under conditions of socialism strive to guarantee high work productivity and full abundance of material goods, while material income is closely set according to the principle of social ownership and principles of socialism."²⁴

The sphere of cultural and educational cooperation is currently becoming the plane of relations between East and West in which participating nations will affirm their personalities to a greater and greater extent. In the situation of creation of international "invisible wars," characteristic of periods of the peaceful coexistence, ideological struggle and socio-economic competition of both systems, the above-mentioned fields are intensified by the struggle for values and the social and moral goals of the dynamic processes of the scientific and technological revolution, embracing in its different variations, the socialist, the capitalist and the developing countries.

Questions about the presence of socialist education and culture in the world are at the same time a confirmation of the possibility of our socialist system taking the offensive in ideological, moral and social activity revealing the excellence of the values and concrete solutions which are achievements of our system. In the course of competition with capitalism, socialism after all changes and improves not only its own cultural and civilizing mechanisms, but also has an effect on its opponent.

Poland is a country peculiarly predestined to take the initiative in developing a socialist program of educational development in the states of our community, to work out a theoretical and practical program of continental European educational relations taking as the point of departure the "CSCE Final Act" signed on 31 August 1975 by 35 signatories in Helsinki. This work should be preceded by a penetrating ideological and political, as well as pedagogical, examination. There can be no doubt that the idea of a program of educational development in the states of our community is the first item on our agenda. It is derived from multiyear

work on the creation of international relations "of a new type." They are based on identical ideological principles among states of our community.

Initiatives in the area of exploiting the process of normalization of international relations in Europe between states of different social structures would be the Polish contribution in realizing the idea of peaceful coexistence: security and cooperation. This is not only a matter of one more fact or process favoring "cooperation based on mutual benefits," but long-term activity "of education for peace" of people with the courage to take responsibility for the period of history through which they live. In their consistency the initiatives referring to the formation of a scientific vision of socio-educational, economic and cultural development of the states and nations of our community would confirm the importance of transferring the principles and achievements which socialism has attained in internal policy to the forum of general socialist relations.

FOOTNOTES

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9. This system of dependence is developed and interpreted with particular consistency by: "Man-science-technology," Izd. Polizdat., Moscow, 1973; "The scientific and technological revolution and socialism," Izd. Polizdat., Moscow, 1973.
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14. Similarly: D. N. Gwiszjani, "The scientific and technological revolution and social progress," in PRZEGLAD HUMANISTYCZNY, 1974, No 7/106.
15. J. Kuberski, "Education in the course of reform," NOWE DROGI, 1975.
16. See on this subject: "To learn to be," E. Faure et al., PWN (State Publishing House for Scientific Literature), Warsaw, 1975. See also: "Mankind at the turning point. Summary of a report by Michajlo Mesorovic and Eduard Pestel," in "Main Information Center," WIT, 40/75.
17. "The scientific and technological revolution and the developing countries," Moscow, 1973, pp 89-110.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

TKKS PRESIDIUM MEETING--Under the chairmanship of the head of the Main Board of the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture (TKKS), Prof Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, the expanded Presidium of the TKKS Main Board deliberated in Warsaw on 18 October 1976. The subject of the meeting was the further refinement of the ideological-world outlook effort of the society. After the introductory address, which was given by the TKKS secretary general, Wieslawa Krol, a discussion ensued. Candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, spoke during the meeting and discussed the ideological-educational tasks of the party and the role of the TKKS in their implementation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 76 p 4]

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YUGOSLAVIA

LARGE NUMBER OF ABORTIONS IN VOJVODINA DECRIED

Pancevo LIBERTATEA in Romanian 2 Oct 76 p 13

[Article by D.G.: "Few Births"]

[Text] The draft resolution on family planning and the proposal for a law on the interruption of pregnancy were the subject of discussions during the recent session of the Family Planning Council which took place in Novi Sad.

On the basis of the attitudes of the 10th Congress of the LCY in regard to the protection of the family, the conclusions of the 5th electoral conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, the resolution of the Federal Assembly in regard to family planning and the opinions of the socio-political organizations and taking into consideration the need and the situation in this area and the tendency to support, in accordance with the Constitution, activities in the area of family planning and a more rapid and more harmonious development of family planning, the assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina adopted this June the draft resolution on family planning.

For the purpose of assuring the widest contribution of the socio-political organizations and of all workers, this draft was presented for public discussion throughout the province.

In the context of the draft resolution on family planning there is the alarming revelation that the birth rate in Vojvodina is the lowest in the country and is one of the lowest in the world!

Also, it is noted that in one-third of the communes in Vojvodina there are more deaths than births. Some 50 percent of the families have two children, one-third of the families have one child and one out of ten families has three children.

What are the causes of such a situation in one of the most advanced regions of the country? As the draft resolution stresses, the causes are many and varied. The truth is that the process of urbanization and industrialization and the intense migrations of the young people from villages to cities where they are confronted by housing problems and the employment of women in the labor field

have a decisive influence on the reproduction of the population of Vojvodina. One of the most important factors in the low birth rate is the problem of child care for working mothers. In urban areas, the division of families, which are constituted predominantly of parents and children, is especially pronounced; thus, the problem of protecting children is difficult to resolve.

The large number of abortions--the largest in the country--in relation to the number of women participating in the reproduction process is a specific characteristic of Vojvodina. For several years, abortion has been the most prevalent method of birth control. The number of abortions reaches a figure of 45,000 each year while the number of births each year is about 26,000. Women with a low level of education and culture have the largest number of abortions. Therefore, it is necessary to educate these women and to expand general and health culture. The interruption of pregnancy has undesirable effects on the psychological and physical health of the woman and results in evident economic losses to the family and society. According to the results of research carried out on this matter, annual expenses resulting from abortions in Vojvodina amount to 10 billion old dinars.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

MANY YUGOSLAVS AT UNIVERSITIES IN EASTERN COUNTRIES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 76 p 12

[Article by Radivoj Cveticanin: "Who Is Studying in Other Countries"]

[Excerpts] Young men and women from Yugoslavia have been settling in Prague, Bucharest, Sofia, Budapest, Pecs, Moscow, Kiev, Timisoara, Szeged, Leipzig, etc., over the last several years. Considerable time had to pass before the graduation of the first Yugoslav students at the universities in these cities drew attention to the dimensions of this phenomenon.

This spring, a commission of the governing board of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia decided that the sojourn of Yugoslav students in other countries has "at least four significant aspects: ideological, educational, defense, and security."

No "Mommy's and Daddy's Children"

The phenomenon has gone largely unnoticed by the public. Even when the matter came up in some way, one of the first questions was the "classic": "Who are these people that can enable their children to study abroad?"

The facts from the field indicate that those tales about "daddy's sons" are unfounded in this instance. There is no common "social" denominator among Yugoslav students in the East. First of all, the occupations of their parents are diverse--from peasants to university professors. Nor, as it happens, has this been the decisive factor in their departure for university-level studies outside the country. If anything is certain about "Yugoslav students in the East," they are not "daddy's and mommy's children."

The range of the students' situation is a good illustration: few could be called fashionable or given to high living. The majority are clustered around the customary student average. To the hosts, regardless of the status of Yugoslav students by our standards, such students are all

"wealthy." Official university entities usually put Yugoslav students in the highest status groups when dormitory accommodations or other benefits are being assigned. To their colleagues, Yugoslav students are show-offs. The fact that they change jeans, leather jackets, or nylon stockings "like razor blades" brings down upon them the odium of mild intolerance and envy. Indeed, these feelings may appear quite reasonable when Yugoslav students Draga Verzeskovic and Marija Stancu in Bucharest can keep in a student room the refrigerator and television that they brought with them from Yugoslavia. They are not unique in this respect.

Why Everything Is Inexpensive

The "leader" so far as the number of students from Yugoslavia is concerned is surely Szeged, where approximately 250 young men and women from Yugoslavia are enrolled. Next are Budapest (125), Bucharest (approximately 100), Sofia (150), Prague (75), etc. In all, approximately 1,000.

The students themselves are extremely reticent about explaining their fundamental reasons for studying in other countries. Everyone will say, first of all, that studying abroad is less expensive than at home. Andrija Zafranovic is studying at the film academy in Prague, following in the steps of his older brother Lordan, the well-known Yugoslav movie director. He says: "The reputation of particular faculties or universities is now debatable and no longer decisive in any case. What is decisive is money."

This "cheapness" that you will hear about in Prague, in Budapest, or in Bucharest has its own special hues. Small-scale smuggling is not alien to some students, and we know that money from stipends or from parents may be exchanged at "unofficial" locations at an incomparably more favorable rate, so their harping on "favorable conditions" and "material advantages" is understandable.

Surely, however, greater importance should be ascribed to the fact that members of the respective Vojvodina minorities are the majority of the Yugoslav students in Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia (Bratislava). The advantage of hearing lectures in one's mother tongue, which the students often stress as an important reason for studying outside Yugoslavia, is entirely understandable.

In this context, one question is especially intriguing. To be specific, the Slovak Cultural Society of Bratislava selects its scholarship grantees from Yugoslavia--of whom there are many--according to its own criteria. The society explains its endeavors in terms of "cultural-national aims." Such "altruism" has never been without some different motivations. We should add the fact six recipients of such scholarships are studying this year at the Theological Faculty in Bratislava.

Toward Social Life

Our official representatives in Bratislava will tell you many laudatory words about the behavior of our students. The latter themselves display a good deal of ambition to be solidly organized--more so than in other places where Yugoslav students are enrolled. However, objective difficulties prevent these clubs from being more active than they are. One of the difficulties is that there is not suitable hall for gatherings in most of these places. As Vidan Vranesevic, student at the film academy in Prague, says: "Informally, we gather at the 'Slavia' cafe. Formally, we gather in the Yugoslav commercial representative's office. Neither place is good."

The picture is more or less the same in the other university cities.

These students need to be organized more solidly for very good reasons. First of all, they are caught up in a unique educational process that does not correspond in all respects to our own requirements and needs. For example, economics is taught differently, as is the history of the workers' movement, etc. Insinuations and unfavorable judgments concerning our social development and foreign policy are by no means rare. In Prague, a Cominformist lectures on the social sciences at the film academy. Unconcealed efforts are being made to infiltrate the children of Cominformists into the ranks of Yugoslav students. And so on. Obviously, the "ideological" sphere is not at peace. For precisely this reason, our students abroad deserve more attention than heretofore.

"Why are you ashamed of the word 'order'?" Blagoj Mihov, the Yugoslav consul general in Bratislava, asked us. "Yes," he says, "order is needed in this whole matter." He reminds us that the whole thing is evolving "behind our backs."

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

NEW COMPANY-LEVEL COUNCILS TO ASSIST MILITARY COMMANDERS

Directive by Federal Secretary

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 76 p 5

[Text] From the ranks of servicemen who can rightly be titled the best, from the ranks of those who excel, who never stand aside when the mistakes of individuals need to be pointed out, some will be named to the new unit councils that are supposed to help make military tasks be executed more successfully, to help solidify their units, to make their units more unified, more powerful in terms of combat capability.

We are referring to the councils for internal order and discipline, which are now being constituted under a directive issued by the federal secretary for national defense. For servicemen, this is one more aspect of confidence, one more significant obligation in the effort to bring influence to bear more fully on the configuration of everyday military life. At the same time, this is significant assistance to unit commanders.

But let us proceed in sequence.

The councils, which are already taking their first steps or are in the formation stage in some units, will be presenting commanders with proposals, opinions, and suggestions for improving internal order and discipline. They will be proposing all measures, to put the matter in a simplified way, capable of strengthening units, comradeship, and interpersonal relationships. They will be elected in companies and detached platoons and will number 5 to 10 military personnel, plus certain unit leadership personnel. It is natural, as we were just saying, for the council members to be truly the best, servicemen who excel in every respect and can be an example to others. It is also natural for the largest number of members to be recruited from the ranks of LCY and youth organization members who have been outstanding in the work of those organizations and have demonstrated political maturity. However, we would say that members are going to be required to be not just "strong" in words but also outstanding in their military behavior in the collective, exemplary in their efforts during training, attentive to fostering comradeship. In any case, servicemen are to declare themselves concerning each candidate at company-level or platoon-level conferences. Afterwards, the commander will issue an order appointing the council. The same procedure will be employed when a vacancy occurs due to transfer, discharge, or some other reason.

As we were just saying, this will be of assistance to the commander. How much --that will depend on the commander himself, or rather on the commander's success in guiding the work of the council, on whether meetings are held regularly and at the right time, i.e., on the commander's acceptance of realistic recommendations for improvement in order and discipline in the spirit of the prevailing ordinances--in a word, on how much the commander has become accustomed to listening to, and taking into consideration, the voice of his company. After all, that is his obligation as well. But that is all. The better he is attuned to new solutions and proposals from council members to improve internal order, discipline, and interpersonal relationships, the easier his job will be in all respects. There is no need to emphasize in particular that this is essential if the council is to succeed in accomplishing the mission for which it has been constituted. There are no obstacles to the inclusion on the agenda of all matters of significance to the life and work of a unit. For example: how orders are being executed, servicemen's attitude toward social property, preserving the health and lives of unit members, interpersonal relations and comradeship, the behavior of servicemen in public places, personal neatness and military bearing, duty rosters, incentives, passes to town (regular, special, prizes), prize leaves, etc.

The fundamental task of the councils, when they are analyzing how any of these matters is being handled, especially when mistakes by individuals are involved, is to point to the real causes, to have a preventive effect by strengthening the collective and the responsibility of all members for its cohesion and unity. Concern for the situation in the unit thereby becomes indivisible, common, to an even greater extent.

Let us note in conclusion that the directive in question represents a further effort to develop socialist relationships in our armed forces, to encourage creative initiative, and to strengthen responsibility and conscious military discipline. Proper interpersonal relations, along with the buildup and strengthening of internal order and discipline, are the most direct determinants of the moral-political state and firmness of every unit. The foundations for such relationships were laid during our national liberation war. They are taking on a new social substance today, but their goal is a still greater strengthening of confidence, comradeship, solidarity, concern for people, and the consistent implementation of the orders and ordinances on which life and work in the Yugoslav People's Army are based.

Need To Avoid Duplication

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 76 p 1

[Text] Councils for internal order and discipline are already sprouting up in companies and batteries. As they emerge, we anticipate that relationships, initiative, and creativeness will be receiving a new impetus.

It might be said without exaggeration that the establishment of these councils is an extraordinary event in the development of our armed forces, inasmuch as the councils are the logical consequence of the development of socialist relationships in our society. Exceptional attention should be devoted to keeping

them going, especially since we know of similar examples, the experience of which could be of use to us.

The work of the councils will depend in large part on how they get started. The directive of the federal secretary for national defense and the guidelines issued by the political administration state clearly how to set up the councils. There is nothing ambiguous in this organizational sense. The initial steps taken by the councils, however, may encounter certain other difficulties deriving from their role, substance, and working methods. This is clear in principle, or rather in theory; we shall now have to see how the councils will be functioning in practice.

Among other things, the scope of the councils is extremely significant in terms of the operations of LCY and youth organizations and the collectives. Parallelism, duplication, and role confusion must be avoided at the very beginning, and that is neither easy nor simple. Nonetheless, the most important thing of all is for the councils to discharge their dual role as a commander's advisory entity and as a mobilizer of the military collective. By realizing this role, they will aid the commander considerably in taking decisions in accordance with familiar procedures in the command system. Actually, this amounts to the transfer to the basic unit of familiar entities (collegia, councils, commissions, working groups) that have been operative for some years at higher levels of command.

The councils are commander's organs. In other words, they are under the jurisdiction of the military organization. However, LCY and youth organizations must concern themselves with these matters. Much is expected of communists and youth activists in precisely this stage, when the councils are standing on their feet and taking their first steps. As experience teaches us, various "infantile diseases" are possible in that stage.

The councils were founded in the summertime. For exactly this reason, the aid of the LCY and the youth organization is all the more significant.

In conclusion, we should add that the councils will reflect the manner in which they are supported and aided by the most active forces at company level.

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END